

McCarran's Folly—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

October 21, 1950

HOWARD K. SMITH REPORTS FROM LONDON
Labor's Semi-divided House

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Vishinsky vs. Dulles

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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The New "Truman Committee" - - - - Willard Shelton
Illinois: a Sorry Choice - - - - Herman Kogan
Culture in the Air - - - - David Riesman
Fiscal Pugilism - - - - Keith Hutchison
The Long Cold War - - - - Reinhold Niebuhr

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

WRITING BEFORE THE PRESIDENT DELIVERS his foreign-policy address at San Francisco, we are unable to evaluate the dramatic meeting on Wake Island. Obviously his conference with General MacArthur was necessary and inevitable. Some Republican leaders have naturally attached political motives to Mr. Truman's trip, suggesting that he wished, a few weeks before Election Day, to assume for his Administration some of the credit for the victory. We doubt that this niggardly view will have wide currency. In the first place, most Americans understand that the President is commander-in-chief of the armed forces and that no general can win even as limited a war as the Korean campaign merely as a personal project. The timing was clearly geared to military events, and it may safely be said that it was MacArthur who decided on the date for the landing at Inchon, which dealt the North Koreans the fatal blow. With the liquidation of the war an imminent reality, policy had to be laid down quickly for the peace and rehabilitation of the country. It was well for the President to have the General's views on the subject, and even more important for the General to receive in the most impressive fashion the Administration's wishes, set in the broad perspective of its total foreign policy. The brevity of the talks indicates that the second of these objectives was paramount and that there will be no change in our basic approach. We trust that this means an emphasis on the United Nations as the agent for supervising the peace, with its own forces rather than the South Koreans left to occupy the territory north of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, with Syngman Rhee kept strictly south of that line, and with arrangements for free elections and reconstruction firmly assigned to the United Nations Commission on Korea. *

"THINGS MIGHT CHANGE," ASSERTED MR. Vishinsky if the Big Five would only get together for new discussions. And so they might. The Soviet Union could test the possibility of a new rapprochement quite easily by making a few concrete concessions on specific issues. It could call off the almost-hot war in Berlin and end the stalemate in Austria. Or, as a lesser beginning, it could withdraw its veto on the renomination of

Secretary General Trygve Lie, for that veto went a long way toward canceling out any ameliorative effect recent Soviet overtures and hints of better feeling may have had. Not that Mr. Lie is the best Secretary General one could imagine. He has been timid at times and subject to influence by those around him, especially his more intimate American colleagues. He has failed to take the initiative when a stronger man might have made the international organization a decisive factor in the world situation. But for all that, Trygve Lie has the great merit of believing whole-heartedly in the U. N. as the single hope of peace; it took faith and a certain kind of courage to journey last spring to the capitals of Europe and to Moscow peddling his ideas for ending the East-West deadlock. Nor was it his fault that the Korean attack thrust the plan into an uncertain future.

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IN ANY CASE THE RUSSIAN VETO HAS nothing to do with Mr. Lie's ability. It is adequately explained by Mr. Malik's description of the Secretary General as an "extra assistant secretary to Mr. Acheson"—which means that Mr. Lie favored military sanctions against North Korea and lately indorsed the counter-invasion of that area and the eight-power plan for a U. N. commission to unify the country at the end of the fighting. No one could expect Russia to like either stand; still one might assume that if the Soviet delegates were really bent on proving their good-will, they would express their disagreement and then withhold their veto. The fact that they proposed Foreign Minister Modzelewski of Poland as their candidate only emphasized the political character of the veto. What the outcome of this dilemma will be is not yet known, though it seems that the General Assembly will continue Mr. Lie in office through the expedient of extending his term. This of course would leave him in a weak position as a "lame-duck" protégé of the Western bloc.

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THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD HAS ISSUED an order—Regulation X—restricting mortgages on one- and two-family houses and promises to supplement this shortly by similar curbs on the financing of apartment-house and non-residential construction. Applying to all dwellings begun after August 3, Regulation X provides

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for minimum down payments by non-veterans of 10 per cent on houses costing not more than \$5,000, rising to 50 per cent on those priced at \$25,250 and over. The corresponding schedule for veterans begins at 5 per cent and rises to 45 per cent. In addition, the amortization period for housing loans is to be reduced to twenty years except for houses priced at \$7,000 or less, on which twenty-five-year maturities may be permitted. As a result of these restrictions, it is officially estimated, house construction next year may be reduced to between 800,000 and 850,000 units, or about two-thirds of the expected total for 1950. Spokesmen for the building industry claim that the cut will prove much more severe and are pleading for modification of the order. However, the Federal Reserve authorities have been forced to take into account the fact that, aided by extremely generous mortgage terms, house building has reached an all-time peak this year. It has been absorbing very large quantities of raw materials, some of which are in short supply, and has undoubtedly contributed to the general inflation of purchasing power. One advantage of the new regulation is that it will tend to bring down prices of building materials—that of lumber is already declining—so that while we may get fewer new houses they should be somewhat cheaper. On the other hand, we believe that the purposes of the Federal Reserve could have been achieved by a more flexible order. The reorientation of industry toward defense production is going to intensify the housing shortage in a number of areas, and it should be possible to draft regulations differentiating between such areas and those in which homes are relatively plentiful.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES IS UPSET BY THE cutting criticisms of American attitudes and policies voiced by Asian delegates, particularly those from India and Pakistan, to the Lucknow Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. In discussing the question "Would Asia welcome a Marshall Plan?" many speakers suggested that American aid was likely to have economic and political strings attached. They expressed fears that recipients of loans would be asked to guarantee a status for private enterprise similar to that which it enjoys in this country, and would face demands for unequivocal support of the United States in the "cold war." On other topics, too, spokesmen for Asia showed themselves to be sensitive to real or imagined threats to their newly won independence. The conference, attended by educators, writers, and editors from eighteen different nations, was of course entirely unofficial. However, the *Times* feels that the governments of India and Pakistan are blameworthy for permitting "their intellectuals and journalists to believe that the United States is sending economic aid to Asia simply to enable Wall

Street to enslave Asiatics." And it improves the occasion by spanking Premier Nehru for not toeing the American line on Korea. "The United States," it adds, "is not asking sympathy, appreciation, or gratitude, but it does ask at least a modicum of understanding." That surely is a request that our Asian friends can make equally well. We may think that they would be less suspicious of our motives were they better acquainted with Western ideas and values, but we in turn have much to learn about the psychology of peoples who have just emerged from colonial status. Yet this is a matter on which our own history throws an interesting light, and we would respectfully suggest to the editors of the *Times* that they reflect on the notorious touchiness of Americans in their early years of independence.

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IN A STATEMENT OF POLICY THE EDITORS of the new magazine, the *Freeman*, assert that "for at least two decades there has been an urgent need in America for a journal of opinion devoted to the cause of traditional liberalism and individual freedom." Judging by the first issue, they appear to believe that "the true liberal tradition" was discovered by the classical economists and political writers of the early nineteenth century and that nothing has happened since to invalidate any of their tenets. In *Time* of October 16, John Chamberlain, joint editor with Henry Hazlitt of the *Freeman*, is quoted as saying, "We wish to revive the John Stuart Mill concept of liberalism." But that concept was not a static one, and in our opinion it would be more fitting had Mr. Chamberlain conjured up the spirit of Herbert Spencer, the fierce old individualist who believed that even the regulation of working hours for children or the provision of public sewers was a tyrannical use of the power of the state. For the *Freeman* derides such ideas as "freedom from want," and claims that "economic freedom, as embodied in the free market, is the basic institution of society." Like Spencer it considers that the role of government should be confined to the maintenance of law and order, the enforcement of contracts, and the protection of property rights. Such a philosophy has little appeal, apparently, to any important group, left, right, or center, in this country. Nevertheless, we believe there is a place for a conservative journal of opinion prepared to battle for its beliefs on an intellectual plane. But if such a journal is to win respect, it must offer better fare than this first issue of the *Freeman*, which besmirches an honorable name by printing the whinings of John T. Flynn, the portentous platitudes of George Sokolsky, and an assortment of sneers and snarls at people whom its editors, and backers, dislike. Such things go ill with its claim to stand for "tolerance of all honest diversity of opinion."

FROM THE OTHER END OF THE POLITICAL spectrum there comes word that George Seldes's newsletter, *In Fact*, has suspended publication after ten years of controversial existence. The final issue was devoted to a rather cantankerous farewell by the editor. Mr. Seldes blamed his paper's demise on the prevailing apathy and timidity of the human race, which he holds responsible also for the red hunt and the smear of all progressives. He accused the liberal weeklies of maintaining "almost a conspiracy of silence" about him and remarked sourly, "An obit will probably be their first mention of *In Fact*." However, the thing about his paper that made it hard both to defend and to use, even by a publication that often sympathized with its campaigns, was its habit of running damaging articles on people and institutions minus the substantiating evidence that would make the charges stick. Rather than a conspiracy of silence about *In Fact*, there was a conspiracy of caution, and that perhaps is what Mr. Seldes is really complaining about. Just the same, we are sorry *In Fact* has folded, for its bold exposures of reactionary wrongdoing were in a muckraking tradition that today has too few devotees.

Still Wrong on Spain

WHILE top officials of the Department of State are quietly but persistently trying to promote Franco's Spain into the good graces of the United Nations, a special division of the department has published basic German diplomatic papers for 1936-39 that document the part played by Nazi and Italian Fascist interventionists in overthrowing the Spanish Republic and establishing the Franco dictatorship.

A 951-page volume entitled "Germany and the Spanish Civil War" reprints the texts of 811 German diplomatic papers—instructions from the Foreign Office to embassies and special representatives, reports from consulates and military observers. Captured after the American and British armies entered Germany in 1945, these documents have been translated and put in proper order by an international group of Western scholars and historians not concerned with their present-day political implications. The approach is thoroughly historical, and for that reason the recorded exposure of Nazi and Fascist intrusion in the "civil war" is the more devastating.

The Franco rebellion broke out on July 19, 1936. In these documents there is no clear-cut evidence of German aid for the army plotters before that date, but by August 14 the German consul at Seville was complaining to his Berlin superiors that the appearance of German airmen wearing their own uniforms made it impossible to conceal "what our people are doing here." He preferred the technique of the Italians, who were

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disguising their airmen as Spanish foreign legionnaires.

The German embassy in Madrid frankly told the Foreign Ministry that the "broad masses of the people" supported the republic. The documents make clear that planes, guns, Italian divisions, and the German Condor Legion were poured into Spain while the great powers went through the grisly farce of "non-intervention." Franco was so near defeat in December, 1936, that the Germans discussed the advisability of pulling out of the fight, but he was saved by the arrival of 20,000 Italians. In 1940 Hitler declared that without German and Italian aid "Franco would not exist today."

Eleven years after the fall of the republic, American statesmen are taking the lead in trying to get Franco Spain admitted to the specialized agencies of the United Nations. The State Department was wrong in applying the Neutrality Act and "non-intervention" against the republic in 1936, wrong in its indecent haste to recognize the Franco regime after its Nazi-aided military victory in 1939. There should be an end, sometime, to blunders dictated by what is thought to be expediency and political advantage. Historians should not have to record the statement, a decade hence, that without American diplomatic help in 1950 Franco and the Fascist regime "would not exist today."

McCarran's Folly

MAYBE those members of Congress who failed to read the so-called Subversive Activities Control Act, and some who did read it but were too blinded by panic to think, really imagined it would work and save us all from the Communists. Of the others who gave it their votes, many must have known it was one of the most pointless measures ever drawn on Capitol Hill but feared the political consequences of opposing it. Few, we believe, could have foreseen the irony that has marked the first attempts to enforce it.

To the surprise of no one at all, not a single organization or individual has yet come forward to register as "subversive," and none is likely to. Nothing can be done about this, even after the thirty-day grace period expires, because the Subversive Activities Control Board provided for under the law has yet to be appointed, and it cannot be appointed until Congress gets back and appropriates money for it, a step that it neglected to take in spite of the hue and cry about the imminence of the danger. When the board does come into being it can order those deemed subversive to obey the law, but they in turn can argue their cases up through the courts, one by one, changing the names of their organizations as they go along and dragging the affair out for years, remaining free in the meantime to be precisely as menacing or as inconsequential as ever.

While the subversives, if any, thus go their merry way, the immigration authorities have followed their obligation under the law to make the country and its Congress look ludicrous before the world. Whole shiploads of aliens have been detained at Ellis Island on the legal ground that they had at one time been affiliated with a totalitarian organization, an offense under the new law. Among those held for ideological inspection so far are a young concert pianist who at the age of ten had the indiscretion, common among German schoolboys of a decade ago, to belong to the Hitler Youth; a conductor of the La Scala Orchestra who was invited to come here, as he had been many times in the past; a group of fourteen Italian musicians here to raise funds for their country's equivalent of Father Flanagan's Boys' Town; a batch of American soldiers' wives who in their *gleichgeschalteter* youth had belonged to Hitler's League of German Girls; and fourteen German technicians who had been screened abroad and sent over here on the specific initiative of American officials in Germany.

Sensitive to the impression created by this public display of foolishness, the State Department has now taken the drastic step of canceling all visas until the terms of the law can be more clearly interpreted. The staff of John J. McCloy, our High Commissioner in Germany, is reported to be in a tizzy of embarrassment over the law, which promises to bar some 90 per cent of all Germans and completely wreck the program of importing them for instruction in the principles of democracy. From the United Nations come reports of consternation over the possible ban on admission of certain representatives having only consultative status and on foreign correspondents from affected countries on both sides of the curtain. And to the world at large is offered the spectacle of its most powerful nation behaving like an old-time Balkan principality.

Before the ink was dry on this law, the ten Democratic Senators who had voted to uphold the President's veto launched a campaign to have it repealed or drastically amended when Congress returns in "the calmer post-election atmosphere." The proposal is excellent and absolutely essential if we are to maintain our self-respect as a nation. But there are sponsors of the act who appear equally dissatisfied with its execution to date, and we have reason to fear the kind of amending they might want to do. Unhappy over the obvious folly of banning former Hitler youths, not to mention the wisdom of keeping out grown fascists, they may take it into their heads to confine the act to Communists alone. It is not the lumping of "totalitarians" that makes this phase of the act a farce but its mandatory application to vast categories of people, regardless of how long ago their act of affiliation may have occurred, the circumstances prevailing, or the changes of conviction that may since have taken place. Our regular immigration laws are

more than ample to take care of dangerous aliens, and before the enactment of the McCarran law our officials had all the latitude they needed to close the gates on individual suspects.

We do not relish seeing the laws of the United States made ludicrous any more than does Senator Ferguson, who has been accusing the Administration of trying to undermine the law by carrying it out. But if the decency of a statute can be preserved only by evading its clear provisions, it had better be removed from the books, and the sooner the better.

Vishinsky vs. Dulles

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Flushing Meadow, October 12

NO UNPREJUDICED person could deny that John Foster Dulles has a talent for pleading a case clearly and forcefully while keeping the discussion on a dignified and judicial plane. Speaking on Monday before the Political and Security Committee of the General Assembly in defense of the Acheson plan, which was up for debate in the form of a resolution backed by Canada, France, the Philippines, Turkey, Uruguay, and the United Kingdom, he presented with great vividness the arguments for the proposed structural reform of the United Nations. Essentially the change would give the Assembly the primary role in questions of security and reduce the Security Council to secondary importance. The Assembly could act quickly, unhindered by the road blocks encountered in the Council, kept informed by a system of international observers, and able in a few hours' time to recommend the dispatch of armed forces of member states wherever the interests of the U. N. required them—such was the prospect sketched by the Republicans' expert on international affairs.

On the same day Mr. Vishinsky announced that he agreed with some parts of the Acheson plan but reserved comment on others. There was obvious excitement in the lobbies as the delegates waited for Mr. Vishinsky to make his attitude clear. The next day, in a sober speech, he approved the calling of extraordinary sessions of the Assembly if a breach of the peace had occurred, accepted the idea of sending out peace patrols and some other suggestions, but rejected the sections of the Acheson plan intended to eliminate the veto. If these were put through, he said, they "would explode and crush the Charter from top to bottom." Mr. Vishinsky cited with impressive effect the explicit limitations on the powers of the General Assembly in Articles XI and XII of the Charter, especially the provision that while the Assembly may discuss any question relating to

peace and security it may not make recommendations with regard to a dispute or situation under consideration in the Security Council.

The basic issue in the debate, one of the most important so far, was the veto. Should this right be chipped away until it was only a phrase in the Charter, a mere reminder of San Francisco, where every member of the Big Five insisted on it and none more vehemently than the United States? Without it would not the United Nations operate like a car without brakes? Should not the veto rather be maintained and a basis be sought for such collaboration among the great powers as would make its abuse unlikely? Vishinsky doubted that the veto, as Mr. Dulles claimed, had been the real cause of the anemia apparent in the United Nations in the last few years. The trouble, he said, lay in the subservience of the organization to the Anglo-American partnership.

The chief participants in the debate seemed at times like two powerful lawyers attempting to convince a jury by the force of their language. But the dominant issue was not a legal or constitutional one. From Vishinsky's point of view it was the question whether the United Nations was going to serve as the instrument of a certain political and social ideology or as an instrument of reconciliation and cooperation. Vishinsky commented ironically on the contrast between the veto—in its usual Russian costume—and what he called the "majority veto" in Western dress. He could have cited many comments by Europeans who hold political views contrary to his own but who are nevertheless alarmed by the extension given lately to the policy of containing Russia and by attempts to obtain for it the unconditional support of the U. N. majority. Ever since the announcement of the Truman Doctrine the line between "external aggression" and "internal aggression" has become less and less distinguishable. The "area of danger" and the "area of legitimate interference" grow wider every day. If stopping communism becomes the major goal of American policy, no one can foresee to what limit containment measures may be extended. Such a tendency not only implies conflict with the countries in the Soviet orbit but increases the danger of intervention against "internal aggression" in other countries.

The idea that the United Nations, in view of the experience of the League, should have at its disposal an international army to enforce respect for international law has become deeply rooted. The policeman's lot, however, will not be a happy one if he must be prepared both to keep the peace between states and to maintain their internal status quo, on the assumption that a Communist—or perhaps, after a few years, a Socialist—uprising might endanger the present social structure or, to put it more diplomatically, the peace.

The realities behind the Dulles argument were of

course quite different. Generalizing from the Korean experience, he projected a situation in which action could not be blocked by a veto during the critical early stages of a breach of the peace. However able his presentation, the legal basis of his argument was far weaker than his very effective appeal to recent events. Obviously the American position, which with modifications will doubtless become the majority position, rests primarily on the exigencies of the cold war. If the United States were not absolutely certain of its majority—at least in the foreseeable future—it is hard to believe that the Acheson plan would have been put forward. Viewed from the Western angle it is a defensive measure, within the framework of the United Nations, against possible future Russian aggression.

Since the extreme use of the veto is resented by the majority and the prospect of an Assembly acting with speed but without brakes is viewed with alarm by the minority, the only final way out of the impasse would seem to be agreement among the Big Five. That this is recognized even by the Americans was shown in the willingness of the United States to incorporate in the Acheson plan the Soviet proposals for new efforts by the Security Council to agree on a U. N. military force and for interim Big Five talks on any threats to peace. But the threat to peace is already so great that one wishes a real attempt to reestablish working relations between the Big Five could begin at once.

The New "Truman Committee"

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, October 13

WITH the outbreak of the Korean war dozens of Congressmen recognized that the impact of a tremendous rearmament program would open up new fields for legislative investigation and that national reputations could be built by skilful employment of the power to probe. Among the groups that are moving into action one known technically as the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee is beginning to get considerable national publicity. It may soon become known as the Johnson investigating committee, after its mild-mannered but determined chairman, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas.

At present this new "watch-dog" committee is putting finishing touches on two major reports—one on steel capacity, expansion plans, and profits; the other on rubber supply and stockpiling. In the near future it plans to hold public hearings to expose the new gray market in steel. Also tentatively scheduled for mid-

November are public hearings on universal military training, which in effect may become hearings on the whole issue of man-power utilization. When this body of work is completed, the country should be able to judge whether it matches—as Senator Johnson intends it shall—the accomplishments of the Truman committee during World War II.

The Johnson committee has already shaken official Washington with a devastating first report. Working so quietly that it caught the bureaucracy by surprise, the committee criticized the Defense Department's surplus-property-disposal program and blasted the Munitions Board for failing to build up rubber stockpiles when prices were low. Inquiries addressed to Hubert E. Howard, chairman of the Munitions Board, concerning its rubber program had remained unanswered for three weeks. After the appearance of the report the President promptly halted the sale of a government-owned "surplus" synthetic-rubber plant in Ohio and on the eve of a public hearing announced by the committee received and hastily accepted Howard's resignation. (Howard is a close personal friend of Louis Johnson and in his letter of resignation emphasized his respect for the man Mr. Truman had just fired as Secretary of Defense.)

Senator Johnson frankly states that his objective is to "reactivate" the Truman committee of World War II, which "showed what a legislative investigating committee could do when close understanding between the legislative and executive branches is essential to the national security." In other words, he will carry on a running investigation of the defense program. The Truman committee was unique in the history of the United States in that it carefully refrained from giving lessons in strategy to the generals and from hamstringing the State Department by meddling in foreign policy. It put burrs on the cushion seats of swivel-chair generals, incompetent government career men, and business-as-usual industrialists, and attacked blunders in the war-production program wherever it found them, but it kept itself strictly non-partisan. Its work was credited with saving thousands of lives and billions of dollars. Its chairman became the Democrats' vice-presidential nominee in 1944, after Roosevelt was persuaded to dump Henry A. Wallace.

On Senator Johnson's team are some of the ablest members of the Senate Armed Services Committee. The three other Democrats are Kefauver of Tennessee, who is also head of the special Senate Crime Investigation Committee, Hunt of Wyoming, and Chapman of Kentucky. Senator Bridges of New Hampshire, the ranking Republican, is the one direct link with the old Truman committee, on which his record was excellent. The other Republicans are Morse of Oregon, hard-working and a brilliant lawyer, and Saltonstall of Massachusetts, whose presence should contribute materially to the

maintenance of non-partisanship. The chief counsel, temporarily, is Donald C. Cook, vice-chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Cook is serving without pay until the end of the year, when the selection of a permanent chief counsel may be of decisive importance to the committee's future work.

Johnson tells reporters that his intent is to be "religiously cautious and fair," to avoid "slam-bang accusations," to inquire "painstakingly" into every possible phase of mobilization and production before holding public hearings. The "big job," he says, is "to get the defense effort away from hardening of the arteries of imagination and ingenuity." He has been warned by Truman, out of the President's personal legislative experience, that two major road blocks will be the resistance to change of industrial tycoons as well as of Pentagon top brass and the committee's temptation to trespass into unauthorized fields; it must refrain from "Monday-morning quarterbacking" of the generals. Above all, it must watch out for the pitfalls of political partisanship.

Though a freshman in the Senate, Johnson has had considerable experience in legislative investigations. During World War II he was chairman of a House Naval Affairs Subcommittee which won high praise from the

well-informed even if it received few headlines. But because of his more recent record in Congress some critics take a skeptical view of his present activities. After rising to prominence in the House as a liberal, he voted for the Taft-Hartley act. In the Senate last year he helped lead the attack on Leland Olds, dragging up stale writings of that upright and able public servant to block his reappointment to the Federal Power Commission by showing that he once had been "radical." Johnson also fought for enactment of the Kerr natural-gas bill, a prize project of the Texas oil and gas millionaires.

The problems Johnson will meet as chairman of a "reactivated" Truman committee are crucial ones for the American economy in a time of genuine emergency. The steel companies are loudly insisting—as they did, mistakenly, at the beginning of World War II—that steel capacity and the industry's expansion plans are "adequate." The aluminum companies make the same claim for aluminum supplies and expansion potentials. The real-estate lobby warns against the "unnecessary" controls proposed by what it calls "socialist-minded" Administration officials. All the propaganda channels are being used to insure the continuation of business as usual.

Labor's Semi-divided House

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

London, October 10

IN ITS half-century of existence the British Labor Party has held forty-nine annual policy-making conferences (read: conventions). But at none has such stout party unity been exhibited as at last week's, marking the party's fiftieth birthday. For the first time within this reporter's memory there developed no rebellions of delegates on the floor against the policies of the executive on the platform. Rank-and-file resolutions were couched in the language of conciliation—expressing "hope" that the leaders would act in certain ways, not the categorical commands of more splenetic years.

The platform itself never before exhibited such concord. Belying pre-conference rumors of a growing split among the leaders, the big debate on socialist ideology was opened for the executive committee by Herbert Morrison, the leader of the party's right wing, and closed for the executive by Aneurin Bevan, the flag-bearer of the party's left. Belying old and persistent rumors that Attlee and his fire-eating Minister of

Health are at odds, Bevan in his speech paid Attlee a handsome personal tribute; and when he finished speaking, Attlee rose from his chair, moved down the executive table, and wrung Bevan's hand with great warmth—a gesture the Prime Minister accorded no other of the score or more of speakers for the executive committee.

After five frictionless days the conference ended with the executive's gently rightward course confirmed, with the Cabinet committed to nothing specific in the future, and with a rousing rendition of the party anthem, "The Red Flag."

For this uncommon display of unity, two stock explanations are current here. The Labor press insists that it proves the party was never so satisfied with the course the leaders are steering. The Tory press sticks resolutely to its theory that a party split is being hidden, that, to quote the *Sunday Times*, "Labor holds together for fear of falling apart."

To the non-partisan observer, however, neither explanation seems adequate. Far from being satisfied with current policies, the delegates at this year's conference were restless and uneasy. The rousing rendition of "The Red Flag" was less joyful than nostalgic, a harkening back to happier days when the world seemed simpler.

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On the other hand, there is no clear sign of the split that the Tories claim to see. The most spirited defense of socialism came from right-winger Attlee ("Capitalism has lost faith in itself." . . . "With our socialist faith we shall conquer"); and left-winger Bevan made the sharpest attack on the left-wing idea that industries should be nationalized for political and social rather than economic reasons.

NO, UNITY derived neither from satisfaction nor from fear of a split; it was a rare case of harmony through confusion. The floor did not challenge the platform for the simple reason that it did not know what to challenge it about. Neither followers nor leaders were quite sure what they wanted to do. Morrisonites and Bevanites clung together because they knew of no clear-cut issue to divide on. The fact is, the half-century mark finds the Labor Party deep in a crisis of philosophy. The world has changed disconcertingly, ignoring the party's textbooks, and the theories that have given British socialism its momentum and inspiration for fifty years are inexplicably out of joint with realities.

Though no direct references were made to the source of the party's obvious malaise—the failure of its old rationale to give it guidance in a changed world—indirect evidences of it were omnipresent. The resolution for a memorial for Harold Laski must have poignantly reminded the conference that the last of its great thinkers had gone and that there is no one about to replace him. Midway through the conference the editors of the party's main ideological mouthpiece, the *Tribune*, held a reception for the purpose of trying to enlist aid to save the paper from financial collapse. The frank and unhappy truth is that the *Tribune* has not produced a new idea or any sustained stimulation for years, and its circulation among the faithful is falling.

Another, subtler reminder of the party's state of mind must have been the political cartoons of Labor's most sensitive commentator, David Low, in the official *Daily Herald*, over which delegates browsed through duller speeches. In Mr. Low's pre-war cartoons the stock character of the Common Man appeared as a heroic figure with a drawn face, standing in unemployed queues or serving as an angry symbol of national impatience with the antics of the Men of Munich. Lately Mr. Low has introduced a new "Common Man," carefully labeled as such, which he was not before. This figure is a dismal oaf who wanders about Mr. Low's sets draped in a raincoat and nothing else, barefoot and sleepy-eyed, seeming to understand nothing and care less of the world he is invited to observe. Faithfully registering the mood of his party, Low has, after five years of Labor administration, obviously become a little disillusioned with the basic human building block of socialism.

To drive the point home, the main domestic headlines

in the papers that week dealt with the continued wave of petty, irresponsible strikes, which in no case so far have been against capitalist employers but in all cases against the Labor administrators of public industries—the London bus system, the Scottish coal mines, the London gas plants. While the party whose highest ideal is the right to strike was in conference at Margate, Labor's Attorney General in London was getting the ten leaders of the gas stoppage sentenced to a month's imprisonment for striking. While the delegates at Margate were rendering a throaty "Red Flag," their Minister for Labor in London was publicly condemning the strike wave as a "red plot." While a Labor speaker warned the conference that a Tory victory at the polls would have dire consequences for workingmen's rights, the Labor Cabinet had before it draft legislation to outlaw strikes like those that have been crippling the country for several months. The overwhelming majority of the country, and the bulk of the Labor movement itself, supports these limitations on wild-cat strikes; but the fact that they must be installed is a rankling pain to Laborites and a reminder that the old theories have gone wrong, though no one is quite sure where or how.

The incongruity of theory with reality was no less evident when the party turned to foreign policy. The annual "rebellion" of the so-called "Keep Left" group against the policies of Ernest Bevin was this year weak and without conviction. For the first time there was no demand for a "socialist foreign policy," and it was clear that the Keep-Lefters are no longer sure there is such a thing. The old theory that the cause of war is capitalism and its anathema is socialism was too evidently at odds with fact: the almost constant roar of American jet fighters over the conference hall, coming from a nearby American air base, was a painful reminder that in the cause of peace socialist Britain found itself allied with the world's first capitalist nation against the world's first socialist nation.

The crowning contradiction came after Prime Minister Attlee's stirring affirmation of the socialist faith, which included, as the other side of the coin, a declaration that capitalism was in its death throes. With undisguised discomfort the assembly which gave Attlee a thundering ovation for his obituary on private enterprise turned then to the first item on its business agenda—a resolution of thanks to America for Marshall aid, without which socialist Britain would have collapsed! The resolution was passed unanimously.

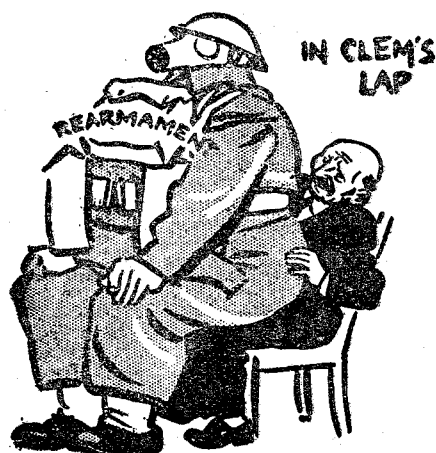
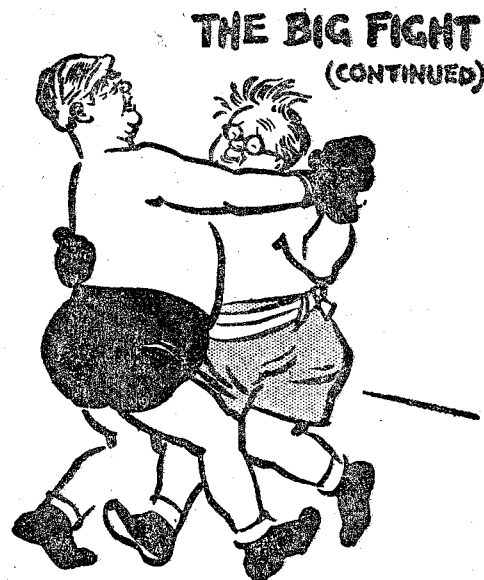
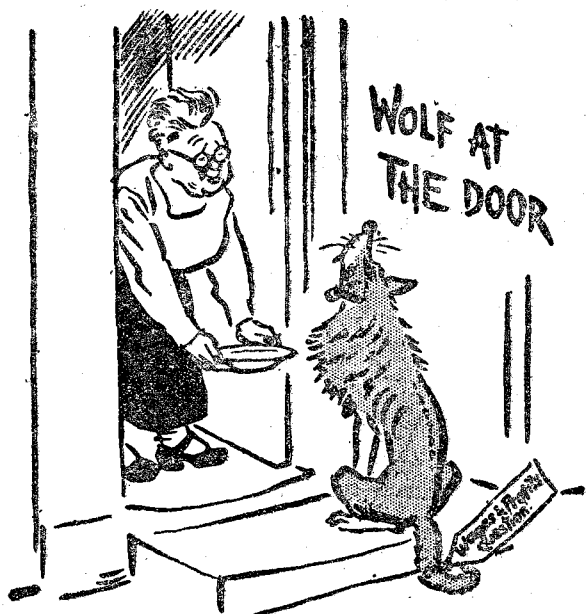
THERE is no basis for either of Labor's two factions to be actively rebellious. The party has not yet defaulted on any pre-election promise to nationalize an industry or to create a new social service; wherefore the left has no hard grounds for serious complaint. The party's steering wheel is quite obviously in the hands of Herbert Mor-

rison, and further radical acts of nationalization or extensions of social services seem unlikely; so there are no grounds either for a right-wing rebellion. But the conference did half uncover some undefined differences which will become threatening if the strains of the future eventually create an issue around which discord can crystallize. Since national strains are inevitable—with rearmament and the necessity to distribute a sizable reduction in the standard of life among the various sections of the people—the vague disparate tendencies of the two classic wings of the party deserve at least to be pointed out.

The stresses came nearest to the surface during the speeches of Herbert Morrison and Aneurin Bevan on Wednesday. Superficially, the two seemed in perfect accord regarding the future course of the party, but at one point, unnoticed apparently by the bulk of the delegates, they came almost inadvertently near to collision. Morrison said, "Let us remember all the time that we are dealing with human beings. The art of government is not making general propositions and running them like a steam-roller over all members of the population. . . . We have to learn as we go and to listen to the argu-

ments of all sections of the population—because sometimes other people do right as well as the Labor Party." And at one point, Nye Bevan said, "You cannot be the darling of all the people all of the time . . . and there is no use in trying."

Consciously or not, the two men stated the basis of two radically different social policies. In essence Morrison was advocating an all-classes party; since Labor already has the support of the bulk of working people, it must shift its appeal rightward to the middle classes. This means that it must abandon radicalism, socialism, and fashion the Labor Party into a liberal reform party. Bevan was in essence arguing as a Marxist—namely, that in the nature of things a socialist party cannot expect to win middle-class support. Labor should abandon its dreams of a large following in other classes and become more resolutely a working-class party with the aim of creating a society based principally not on private property but on collective property. Neither of these attitudes was defined with any clarity. But given the inevitability of rugged times ahead, it would seem impossible to keep them undefined and below the surface for very much longer.



MARGATE MEDLEY

London Daily Herald

OUTLOOK FOR NOVEMBER

IV. Illinois: A Sorry Choice

BY HERMAN KOGAN

Chicago, October 12

NOT long ago I eavesdropped on an earnest conversation between an old-line "realistic" Illinois Democrat and a member of the party's liberal faction. "Okay, okay," the old-timer was saying, "so Lucas fouls out on the President on this Commie-control bill. So he don't like the health-insurance thing and the Brannan business. So you're bitter, you don't know what to do. I'll tell you. You want this Bertie McCormick's boy, this Dirksen, should get in? You think that'll be good for the country and the world and for you? We'll be a step ahead if Lucas gets licked and Dirksen wins? Who you kiddin'?" In essence the party hack was indicating the problem facing the many Illinois voters who have long been vexed by the actions of their senior Senator, Scott Lucas, now majority leader. Dissatisfied as they are, they feel they cannot stay away from the polls on November 7 and let Everett Dirksen, the wizard orator from downstate Pekin, slide into Lucas's mahogany chair in Washington.

The Democrats are exerting massive efforts to give Lucas a third term, but his defeat would not mean that a great liberal or even a solid Truman Fair Dealer had been lost to the country. Lucas's record on a number of vital matters is spotty, and his recent "practical" maneuvering on the omnibus Communist-control bill was especially disappointing. On the other hand, a victory for Dirksen would be a calamity, even according to those who have soured on Lucas. For Dirksen is basing his campaign on arguments dear to the isolationist heart of the *Chicago Tribune* and the "to-hell-with-the-rest-of-the-world" segment of the Republican Party, in and out of Illinois.

Let us, cries Dirksen, end the Marshall Plan, this nonsense of "pouring money down a rathole." But let us, he quickly advises, help Franco, because "Spain has successfully fought the reds and is in a position to help us!" Let us clean out the "bunglers" and "moral idiots" who "betrayed" China and Poland, and at Yalta and Potsdam "sounded the death knell of peace in our time." And don't forget Alger Hiss, that fellow who "looked over President Roosevelt's shoulder at Yalta and gave advice on foreign policy." "Acheson will not turn his back on Hiss; Truman will not turn his back on

Acheson; and Lucas will not turn his back on Truman," shouts Dirksen.

The Korean war? "A direct result of blunders in the Administration. . . . It doesn't make much sense chasing reds 10,000 miles away when so many of them are being shielded in Washington. . . . What about all those troops the other U. N. members promised? . . . Boys fighting sixty-ton Russian tanks with rifles." Since the swift improvement on the Korean battlefield, Dirksen has softened his attacks on the "terrible blunders" and "faulty preparations." But he keeps reminding his listeners of the "long spectral arm of the draft" that is plucking Illinois youths from the farms and cities.

"Where have all those billions gone to, all that ninety billion dollars we spent for defense since V-J Day?" Dirksen asks daily as he goes from town to town. "Do you know where all this spending, this squandomania, is going to lead us all? Straight to socialism!"

All this sounds a little eerie to Illinoisans who can remember the days of Roosevelt's first term, when Dirksen was actually considered a "New Deal Republican." One of the ablest members of the Illinois contingent in the House, he supported many of the Administration's domestic policies. (A decade or so later he was saying that the New Deal measures were a "great departure from the course of freedom.") Until he retired at the beginning of last year because of a serious eye affliction, since healed, Dirksen was in fact an off-again, on-again fellow, and his critics can cite a sixteen-year record of what they call "flipfloppery." In 1932 he was against increased appropriations for rural electrification. Five years later, when it was a working reality, he thought rural electrification was a fine idea. In 1943 he tried to kill the Farm Security Administration; in 1948 he conceded it had done "rather useful work."

Summing up the Dirksen zigzags, Keith Wheeler, of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, wrote that Dirksen "changed his mind thirty-one times in matters relating to national military preparations." "Describing himself as a 'paved-street' farmer," Wheeler continued, "Dirksen jumped the fence a total of seventy times on issues dealing with American agriculture. On eleven occasions he stood out against the regulation of business, while once favoring a restrictive measure. On fourteen occasions he aligned himself with legislation designed to limit the activities of labor, while two issues found him favorable to the views of labor."

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In foreign affairs Dirksen has vacillated between isolationism and internationalism. When Hitler was ravaging Europe, he was against selective service and Lend-Lease. Two months before Pearl Harbor he suddenly switched and was sharply slapped by the *Chicago Tribune*. After the war he became a firm isolationist again. When the Marshall Plan was before Congress, he developed into one of its fervent advocates, because, he said then, it was the "one hope of halting the evil-moving red shadow." After he regained his health in retirement and decided to run for Lucas's seat, he explained to the City Club of Chicago that he "once supported the Marshall Plan as a gamble, to give relief to Europe and to help put its economy back on its feet. It didn't work. . . . What shall it profit the United States to save the whole world and lose its own freedom?"

The more cynical of his opponents maintain that Dirksen switched on the Marshall Plan as the price for the support of Colonel Robert Rutherford McCormick. Certainly McCormick's *Tribune*, which once lambasted him as a "me too" Republican, has printed many a sweet word for him since he changed his mind about a bipartisan foreign policy and other such heinous Administration devices. A more likely explanation for the latest example of Dirksen's swivel-mindedness is that he is simply falling in line with the standard Republican dogma as enunciated by Taft in Ohio and Hickenlooper in Iowa. There is even some reason to believe that his change of attitude is genuine.

His supporters say jovially that all those contradictory votes are simply proof that Dirksen is an independent fellow who disagreed with his party bosses when he thought they were wrong and agreed with them when he thought they were right. Some of the young Republicans in Illinois even try to classify him as a "breath-of-fresh-air Republican" like Pennsylvania's Governor Duff. Judging from Dirksen's campaign utterances, this is an extremely starry-eyed view.

Although Dirksen and Lucas have been friendly over the years—both played semi-pro baseball in the same down-state areas as youths—Dirksen has lashed out at Lucas as "a political faker and a moral coward." He has publicly bet \$100 that Lucas will not accept his challenge to a debate; so far Lucas has shied away from meeting him. Dirksen has also attacked Lucas as a symbol of the Administration. When the going was rough in Korea, he talked as if Lucas were personally responsible for the defeats.

LUCAS himself is vulnerable to charges of shifting about on important issues. Long before he became a powerful figure in the Senate, he balked President Roosevelt on several measures, notably the one to reorganize the Supreme Court. More recently, in addition to his maneuvering on the Communist-control bill, he has steadily

opposed two Administration projects—national health insurance and the Brannan plan. He makes it plain, however, that he wants everyone to be healthy and lists all he has done in the Senate for the farmers' benefit. Lucas's backers, like Dirksen's, cite his stand on these questions as proof of his "independence." They add that it also is clever politics, since it robs Dirksen of two strong talking points.

Lucas lagged behind Dirksen in starting his campaign because of his senatorial duties. He is now trying hard to catch up with his skittering, fast-traveling, fast-talking opponent. Without mentioning Dirksen's name, he damns "that little band of isolationists who are still living in the dead past and believe that America can live alone in this atomic age." He accuses Dirksen of "parroting the line of the Communists *Daily Worker*," of "believing that America should retreat behind an iron wall while the other nations of the earth struggle as best they can against the threat of communism." Occasionally he takes a punch at him for backing down on his advocacy of the Marshall Plan, and in anti-*Tribune* territory he cites "Dirksen's deal with McCormick." He charges, too, that Dirksen is being aided by a slush fund of nearly \$1,000,000. This is a standard accusation, but it may have some basis in this case, for Dirksen has always been considered friendly to the utilities and real-estate lobbyists.

Realizing that Lucas, having served two terms, could well be the victim of the interesting Illinois tradition of throwing out the "ins," knowing his vulnerability on vital issues, and fearing Dirksen's persuasive oratory, the party leaders have called on Lucas's colleague to help him out. So last week Senator Douglas took to the road in a station wagon equipped with a loud-speaker to make a town-by-town campaign in Lucas's behalf. Douglas rather than Lucas is undertaking the job of replying to Dirksen's charges with facts, figures, and professorial logic. He also will try to square matters with labor groups who remember Lucas's mauve record on the Taft-Hartley law.

Earlier in the campaign Democratic leaders were worried about the voters' reaction to the casualty lists of the Korean war. Some of the party bosses even feared the effect of the recent gang killing of former Police Captain Bill Drury a few days before he was scheduled to tell Senator Kefauver's Crime Investigating Committee what he knew about the underworld syndicate. Not so much anxiety is felt on either score now, although Drury's murder is certain to hamper the organization's efforts to elect Captain Daniel A. ("Tubbo") Gilbert sheriff of Cook County, for it has been learned that Drury was ready to furnish Gilbert's Republican opponent, John Babb, with "important information." Gilbert, whose grain-market speculations have helped him build a comfortable bank account of \$300,000, has been chief in-

The Charles C. Sherrard Library

EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE

Johnson City, Tennessee

investigator for the state's attorney's office for sixteen years, a position in which he has acquired pretty much of a do-nothing record.

The party leaders have been more hopeful about Lucas's reelection since the change in the Korean situation. They have also noted that he is drawing large crowds in important downstate areas. Cook County's mainly Democratic vote is considered in the bag for him. But some of the party's professionals are cautious enough to agree with the Democratic "realist" quoted above: "With the Illinois voter, you can't always be sure. Maybe the day he's walking to the polls he'll suddenly start thinkin' about Drury or the kid next door that got killed in Korea. And there goes all the talk about the Marshall Plan and how to save the world from Joe Stalin. This is a hard one to dope out even if it looks right now like Lucas maybe can squeeze in. But you come around the first Wednesday in November, when the count's in, and then I'll know what happened, and why."

BESIDE THE POINT

WHEN Louis Johnson, former Secretary of Defense, arrived in Los Angeles to address the national convention of the American Legion, he announced to reporters that the speech he was going to make was "soul-stirring" and "the best I've ever written." I could hardly wait for the report of the speech itself. It wasn't bad, but it wasn't, and couldn't possibly have been, as exciting as I expected it to be. I think he would have been well advised to rest on the laurels of his promise. But it is not my purpose to criticize Mr. Johnson's performance. On the contrary, I think he has hit upon a device that could well be adopted by everyone who makes speeches or writes books, articles, editorials, or humor columns. Or rather by everyone who *has* made speeches or written books, articles, editorials, or humor columns; for the device, as I've worked it out, would make it unnecessary for the speeches to be made or the books, articles, etc. to be written. And consider what a saving that would mean—in ink, paper, publishing costs, vocal energy, and (applause).

Newspapers, for instance, could be much smaller than they are, since they would consist simply of descriptions by correspondents, editorial writers, and columnists of what they were about to publish.

Item: Walter Lippman said today that his column for Wednesday is absolutely wonderful.

Item: Arthur Krock promises that his Thursday column, an account of the latest blunders of the Administration, will be, at the least, soul-stirring.

Item: Our Washington correspondent reports that he

is preparing a humdinger of a report of a speech by Senator Wherry which Senator Wherry says will blow the top off the Capitol.

Item: From the United Nations comes word that Andrei Vishinsky has revealed that his speech on Dean Acheson's proposals—which Dean Acheson avers will usher in a new era in world affairs—will make the "ruling circles" turn up their toes.

And on the editorial page:

Item: We are working on an editorial on world peace which certainly ought to win the Pulitzer prize.

The writers of best-sellers would have no trouble making their works in progress sound more like waiting for than not, and reviewers could take off from there. (I'd advise them to take off about 50 per cent.)

But what I'm really looking forward to is the announcement in *The Nation* that M. M. is convinced that her forthcoming column is the funniest yet.

✕

A SINGER back from a tour of Europe reports that Communist propagandists are using popular American songs to prove that the masses are starving under capitalism. He said he was told that the words to "If I Knew You Were Coming I'd Have Baked a Cake" were being used to show that rationing exists in the United States.

To the Soviet citizen in the know, it will be clear that "The Sunny Side of the Street" indicates that we're also freezing to death under capitalism. (He may even note that an early and clumsy attempt at camouflage by means of a song called "Button Up Your Overcoat"—as if you had one!—has gone by the boards. And we can see now that "Yes, We Have No Bananas," was nothing but a reflection of the contradictions of capitalism.) "Your Feet's Too Big" is a dead giveaway, if you know how to interpret it, of the fact that shoe manufacturers in the United States, in their greed for profits, make only small sizes, and "A Man Around the House" is stunning proof, if proof were needed, that the whole male population under capitalism is unemployed.

M. M.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

TWO ARTICLES BY PAUL BLANSHARD
THE VATICAN AND BIRTH CONTROL
RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION IN ITALY

Also Two Articles on

KASHMIR: TROUBLED VALE

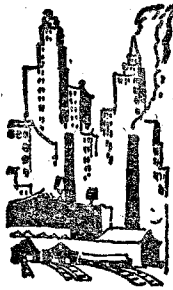
WILL PAKISTAN FIGHT INDIA?

A dispatch from Karachi by Vera Micheles Dean

AS NEHRU SEES THE ISSUE

K. Rangaswamy reports the mood in New Delhi

Next week: Comments by our readers on our recent series of articles on psychoanalysis.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Fiscal Pugilism

ON MY right, ladies and gentlemen, Tommy McCabe, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System: on my left, Johnny Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury. We are now about to see the third round of the fight for the credit-control championship of the United States. And a very strange fight it is in some ways. The umpire, Harry Truman, has so far carefully kept his eyes averted from the ring. The antagonists are both pulling their punches, for each is afraid of knocking the other out, and at times they break off fighting to hold conferences. Nevertheless, this is a serious scrap and one that is being watched intently by a select audience of bankers, financial experts, and economists. Unfortunately, the great American public, whose purse is at stake, finds fiscal pugilism hard to follow and so far has taken little interest in the contest.

Round one of the match opened on August 18 when Snyder landed a heavy blow by announcing that when some \$13½ billion in certificates and bonds matured on September 15 and October 1, holders would be invited to accept in exchange 1½ per cent thirteen-month notes. These were the same terms as were offered in connection with June 1 and July 1 maturities, and they advertised the Treasury's determination to hold the line on short-term interest at all costs. It was an unmistakable challenge to the Federal Reserve System, which, charged with the duty of checking credit inflation, was bound to consider steps that would tend to make money dearer not only for private business but for the government.

McCabe's counter-blow followed quickly. Within a few hours of the Treasury's announcement the Federal Reserve Bank of New York raised its rediscount rate from 1½ to 1¾ per cent, and the Board of Governors of the system issued a statement declaring their readiness "to use all the means at their command to restrain further expansion of bank credit consistent with the policy of maintaining orderly conditions in the government-securities market." As a result of these actions the Treasury offer appeared even less attractive than before to the banks and financial institutions which held the maturing securities, and there was a strong possibility that most of them would demand redemption in cash. Under the circumstances McCabe had only to stand aside to inflict on his opponent the punishment of "failure" of a government refinancing operation. However, such tactics would certainly have created disorderly conditions in the government-securities market and would have bought victory at too heavy a cost.

Consequently, when round two opened after a week-end interval, McCabe engaged in some swift and tricky footwork, the purpose of which seemed to be both to save Snyder and to teach him a lesson. Between August 21 and Septem-

ber 15 the Federal Reserve Open Market Committee bought up billions of dollars' worth of the maturing issues and at the same time sold from its portfolio at price concessions almost equally large quantities of other securities. In effect it was underselling the Treasury, and although this involved losses, it was the Treasury, as recipient of 90 per cent of the Federal Reserve's profits, that was the chief loser.

The upshot of these operations was that the Federal Reserve banks obtained possession of a large part of the maturing obligations, which they duly exchanged for the new notes. But even so the Treasury had to redeem 17 per cent of the total in cash—in its June and July refinancing the proportion had been just under 5 per cent—and it had the disconcerting experience of seeing the new issue quoted in the market at below par. Moreover, the effect of the Federal Reserve's maneuvers was to depress prices, and therefore to increase yields, of all government securities.

Thus as round three opens, the Treasury finds itself paying 1.33 per cent for ninety-one-day bills as against 1.17 per cent on August 18. And it must now soon decide what terms it will offer to the holders of the next maturities—\$2,635 million of 1½ per cent bonds due December 15 and \$5,373 million of 1½ per cent certificates due January 1. It seems almost certain that Snyder will have to give ground a little and refund these issues with longer-term securities carrying a somewhat higher interest rate. For the Federal Reserve System can hardly be expected to repeat its recent salvage operations, particularly since its portfolio is now overloaded with short-term notes.

I would blame no reader who asked at this point why there should be so much fuss about changes in interest rates of a few pennies per cent. Granted that the rapidly expanding total of bank credit is making a major contribution to inflation, will fractional increases in the cost of money seriously discourage business borrowing? The Treasury contends that an increase of, say, one-half of one per cent in interest rates would in fact deter few credit seekers but would add hundreds of millions of dollars to national debt charges.

Why, then, it may be asked, cannot the Federal Reserve System take steps to restrict private borrowing without creating difficulty for the Treasury? Actually, it has moved in recent weeks to impede the issuance of both consumer installment credit and mortgage credit for house building. It has no power to impose similar restrictions on industrial and commercial credits, but it can cut down the loanable funds of its member banks by raising reserve requirements to their legal maxima. However, this action could not be fully effective so long as the Treasury's insistence on maintenance of present low interest rates prevented the Federal Reserve from pursuing an unfettered open-market policy. That is to say, it must be free to refuse to support government bond prices at any predetermined level, for otherwise commercial banks could replenish their funds simply by selling government obligations. That is the real nub of the matter, and it seems to me that if credit inflation is to be checked, the Treasury must adopt a less rigid stand. It is not much use saving money on interest charges if as a result inflation adds a far greater sum to the housekeeping bill of government and taxpayer alike.

BOOKS and the ARTS

CELEBRATED JUMPING FROG

(Calaveras County, California)

"Gradation, gradation, and then a sudden leap."—*Gide*

Bells in the valley where the sheep
Lean to the slope in the flawing snow;
And still the frogs of Calaveras keep
Athenian laughter in the quartz's sleep,
Sweetness of metal, balsam and alkali
Between the serpent's ages and the sea.

Only the human watcher waits, apart,
Smiling the blind denial of his woe—
Masquer and malcontent, bounded by a heart,
Lending the whittler's tribute of his art
To what the olive and the orange bless:
A pedant in a basket saying: *yes*.

While, with an ironist's consent,
A multiple summer flashes, from below,
The poppy and the pomegranate's intent;
Faggot of grapestock; and the leaf is bent—
And breaking from the buckshot and the bog,
The pledge is paid that lost the jumping frog.

BEN BELITT

CULTURE IN THE AIR

RADIO, TELEVISION, AND SOCIETY. By Charles A. Siepmann.
Oxford University Press. \$4.75.

THIS is a forceful, intelligent book which is addressed to a variety of potential audiences. For the student of government-industry relations it contains a careful and observant account of the development of federal policy since the inception of American broadcasting, and it provides, so far as I know, the first full comparison of the American with the Canadian and the British experience. For the student of civil liberties there is an extensive and searching discussion of the problem of free speech on the air, based on the one hand on a social-psychological examination of propaganda techniques and on the other on a knowledge of the strengths and vulnerabilities of the great political tradition of freedom of speech in the West. (Since the book was written, Mr. Siepmann has been attacked by the *Chicago Tribune* for his assertion, at a recent *New York Times* forum, that the

press was not entitled to the immunity from libel that protected Congressional slanderers such as McCarthy—an intriguing and quite possibly constitutional remedy for the present weakness of the all too easily defamed victims.) For the student of mass communications—the growing but somewhat amorphous field of research into radio, print, and film and their effects—the book gives an excellent picture of the radio industry's day-to-day operation in the three major English-speaking countries. For the student of education it provides a critique of the present role and future possibilities of radio and TV as aids in adult education, especially in the field of international relations.

As erstwhile broadcaster—with the BBC—and as consultant to government commissions, Mr. Siepmann knows the radio industry inside out. He is also familiar with the social scientists' concept of "culture," our favorite term for implying how hard it is to change things, how intractable

a society is, how impossible to reform or to ruin it overnight by means of radio or television. But these familiarities have not bred contempt in Mr. Siepmann either for the industry or for its largely passive audience. On the contrary, the book represents his effort to reconcile his belief in the great educative potentialities of broadcasting with his knowledge of the unimaginative present use of the media. This tension gives the book its quality of a continual debate between the real and the ideal—between the principles of free speech and the practices of mass persuasion, between the ideal of civic alertness and the failure of radio's pioneering documentary efforts, between the ideals of world brotherhood and the practice of extending psychological warfare also to the ether.

Many of those who are concerned, as Mr. Siepmann is, with the monopolistic character of our communications industries tend to rely on anti-trust proceedings as a remedy, though the evidence would seem clear that "local" stations, like small-town newspapers, are ordinarily even more subject to bigoted and narrow censorships than the larger chains. Mr. Siepmann makes a suggestion which may astonish many readers—namely, that even a few letters from listeners often have decisive effects on major network policy. This seems astonishing because, as is well known, the broadcasters engage in extensive listener research; they know who listens to what, and even why. Why should they care, then, about a handful of mail—in addition to the bagfuls addressed to studio stars? They do care, because "they" are not a monolithic aggregate of cleverly calculating, Burnhamian "managers"; they are a group riven by their internal conflicts, their guilts, their feeling of alienation from their audience. A few letters, then, carefully nursed within an organization, may save a challenging program from the ax—or, alas, give it the ax—quite irrespective of Hooper and Nielsen ratings. I think Mr. Siepmann is quite right here; the same applies to other power aggregates,

too, and should rob the listener of his sometimes comfortable but more often frustrating feelings of utter impotence beyond the flick of his dial.

On the whole, the radio and TV industry supports its program fare of the moment against its critics—of whom Mr. Siepmann has been one of the most severe—by the claim that the public will not accept more demanding and elevated fare. It is interesting in this connection to examine in some detail Mr. Siepmann's criticism of the Third Program of the BBC for what, in his opinion, is the opposite error—a disregard for the abilities of any mass audience in Britain to follow where it so esoterically, yet excitingly, leads.

The Third Program is a program of music, lectures, poetry readings on an uncompromisingly high level—both more varied and more abstruse than even a combination of WQXR and WNYC could achieve. Mr. Siepmann recognizes that it has taken a kind of bull-headed courage—coupled with a refusal to publish any listener-research findings—for the BBC management to devote one of its three available channels to so specialized a set of programs for an undoubtedly small (estimated at 100,000) audience. But he criticizes the management for what Britishers like to call "mandarinism"; that is, for its remoteness, not only from what the vast non-university public "wants" and can take, but also from current issues of political and social policy. The Third Program, he feels, instead of trying to bridge the gap between the highly cultivated few and the less educated many, actually widens the gap and confirms the former in their recondite interests—medieval Latin poetry, the aesthetics of the Gregorian Chant, the character of Charles I, or the poetry of C. Day Lewis, to quote from one day's fare. Just as a Midwesterner might envy New York City for having *both* WNYC and The New Friends of Music, so Mr. Siepmann feels there is a certain injustice in devoting a third of Britain's air channels to those who are already well fed culturally, while making no effort to provide a gradient of taste by which the mass audiences to the "Home" and "Light" programs can elevate themselves.

Mr. Siepmann's points here are, obviously, not to be isolated from similar criticism of "highbrow" tendencies in American higher education, museum policy, and so on. Judgment on such an issue is not easy. Yet I am inclined to disagree with Mr. Siepmann, and to feel that the very intransigence of Third Program standards may be seen as a "political" act, relevant to all efforts at cultural leveling. If Britain is to be "saved," I believe it will be by the social imagination fostered by an abundance of cultural "luxuries" and not by an ascetic civic-mindedness on the part of the present Third Program broadcasters and their audience. One may also raise a factual question: is it not likely that the immense drawing power of "difficult" program fare on the two mass British networks—a series of talks on atomic energy or an uncut "Antony and Cleopatra" draws six to eight million listeners—is connected with a social system whose cultural and social stratification is symbolized by such things as the Third Program? In other words, are not the "ordinary" listener's aspirations toward "high"

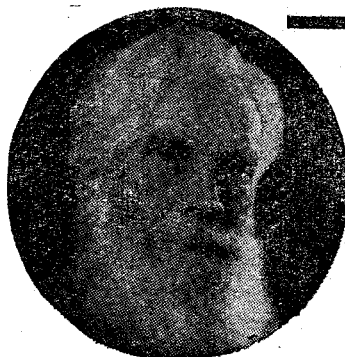
culture reinforced by the existence of the Third Program, even if he does not listen to it?

Though Americans seldom hear Third Program transcripts (a few university FM stations have taken the program as their model), they can form their own judgment on this issue from the pages of the *Listener*, the excellent British weekly which reprints many Third Program talks. On the basis of the *Listener*, I would settle for mandarinism any day. The lectures, for one thing, are often more directly political than one might think—witness a series of talks by Canon Demant on the role of religion in the rise of capitalism.

At the same time the *Listener* does confirm the soundness of one of Mr. Siepmann's criticisms—namely, that the BBC, while justifying the Third Program as an experimental avant-garde, does not actually use it as a laboratory for the development of the resources of the radio medium as such but simply as an enlarged lecture hall for the broadcast of first-class talks, chamber music, and stage plays. Actually, it seems to me, we know rather little

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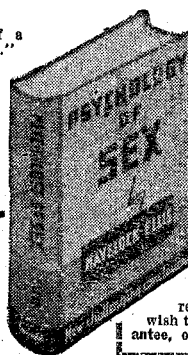
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about what these resources are, or indeed whether they are peculiar to radio. At any rate, the BBC is not interested in using the Third Program to find out, nor does the "Critic on the Hearth," whose often savage strictures on programs the *Listener* publishes, care to tell them; there seems to be no John Crosby in the British press.

Mr. Siepmann himself, however, when he comes to deal with television, makes an attractive suggestion concerning its artistic role: he sees it as needing, owing to the confinement of the screen and of the living-room setting, to find its way to an art in miniature, very different from the movies. As such, he feels it can penetrate more subtly into the unconscious processes of dramatic characters, interest in whose monologues and facial expressions can be more sustained than in any blown-up movie close-up. Thus TV, he feels, may become not merely another competing medium for the *same* materials as movies and radio—and, with them, for the same audience as home work,

civic affairs, and other righteous and unrighteous leisure pursuits—but may actually succeed in adding to our range of visual and human experience. In my opinion it is through such artistic inventiveness, quite as much as through tinkering with government control mechanisms, that the industry practices reported by Mr. Siepmann may move closer to his hopes.

DAVID RIESMAN

The Long Cold War

TRUMAN, STALIN, AND PEACE.

By Albert Z. Carr. Doubleday and Company. \$3.

MR. CARR'S book surveys the history of our relations with Russia since the war. Many events which are fairly well known are retold. The author's close relation to Donald Nelson during the war and post-war period has made him acquainted with the inner history of the effort made by Nelson in both Russia and China to achieve a rapprochement through economic aid.

Stalin was interested in a five-billion-dollar loan; but whether the materialization of such a loan would have changed the course of history is not at all clear. In the Chinese situation it is quite clear that the Nationalist government had neither the integrity nor the imagination to profit from the vast amount of economic aid which was envisaged.

Mr. Carr proposes a four-point peace program, presumably upon the basis of his historical analysis. This program is: first, internal measures calculated to protect the American economy against depression and large-scale unemployment; second, a long-range commitment to continue aid to nations where low living standards and economic disorganization threaten to produce civil disorders and Communist-led revolutions; third, a sustained effort by our government to encourage truly democratic elements and genuinely popular leaders in the societies to which we give economic and military support; fourth, continuous evidence of our willingness to negotiate specific points of difference with the Soviet Union within the framework of our obligations to other nations.

As one who believes in the validity of each of these points I fail to find any new wisdom in them to guide us in the present situation, since it has become apparent that we face not so much the peril of a total war as decades of moral, political, and military competition with Russia all over the world and particularly in Asia, where our disadvantages and the Russian advantages are obvious.

The four points are not irrelevant to our present perplexities. But do they throw any new light upon them? While the book is written with recent developments in Asia in mind, it does not deal specifically with the special problems which we face in meeting communism on that vast continent, with its desperate poverty and the color and colonial resentments of recently emancipated or still subject peoples.

It is popular in liberal circles to emphasize Mr. Carr's point three and insist that we must encourage "truly democratic elements" in the nations seeking to establish internal peace and economic health. While we have undoubtedly foolishly encouraged reactionary regimes for fear that the only other alternative

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was communism, one may well raise the question whether the official liberal theory is not a little too smug and theoretical. Can we create "third forces" in a nation in which only scattered individuals represent our ideal of true democracy? In China the Nationalist government was certainly not worthy of our support; but there is no evidence that the "Democratic League" could have been built into a real political power. We have had a long time to "prepare" the Philippines for self-government; but the present government is ineffectual and is allowing inflation to ruin the country, as the Rhee government did in Korea. Just what do we do to establish "truly democratic" forces in the Philippines? I know it is popular among liberals to speak of the Rhee government as "reactionary." Does that term cover the difficulties of a government which gained power in free elections because of the moral prestige which it had won as a kind of government in exile, but which lacked the ability and the integrity to achieve either honesty or efficiency in administration?

The problem is that old, traditional societies are breaking up all over Asia at the same time that colonial rule is disintegrating. There is little basis for a genuine democracy in many of these nations, either in the literacy of the electorate, in the general disposition of the social forces, or in any inclination to emulate our form of society. One of our great disadvantages is that our living standards, which, in our opinion, commend our form of society to the world, actually make our political ideals appear almost completely irrelevant from the standpoint of Asia and Africa.

We rightly regard communism as a worse alternative to the injustices from which these undeveloped nations are now suffering. But our alternative ideals do not seem to be a live option for Asia, even if they were presented in their purest form. No wonder the Communists shifted the center of the conflict from Europe to Asia. Our disadvantages there are tremendous. I doubt whether we can overcome them by the mere reiteration of the official liberal creed that we must support truly democratic forces.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Reprints and New Translations

PARADE'S END. By Ford Madox Ford. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.

AN EDITH WHARTON TREASURY. Appleton-Century-Crofts. \$5.

THE DAY OF THE LOCUST. By Nathanael West. New Directions. \$1.50.

THE BORZOI TURGENEV. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.95.

A SPORTSMAN'S NOTEBOOK. By Ivan Turgenev. Chanticleer Press. \$2.

UNCLE SILAS. By Sheridan Le Fanu. Chanticleer Press. \$2.

AT LAST Ford Madox Ford's Tietjens series ("Some Do Not . . ." 1924, "No More Parades," 1925, "A Man Could Stand Up," 1926, "The Last Post," 1928) is in print in one large volume bearing the title Ford intended for his tetralogy. For twenty-five years it has been neglected, laments to that effect having been sent up regularly and in vain from the best quarters. For the benefit of new readers: although much of "Parade's End" is about the war of 1914-18, it is not a war novel but, in Ford's own term, which defines only a portion of his achievement, the history of "the last English Tory." So far as technique and richness of perception are concerned, it possesses many of the virtues of Doro-

thy Richardson's "Pilgrimage"; as a detailed factual account of a collapsing society it has all the unfashionable excellences of "The Forsyte Saga." It is a better novel than either, for Ford knows exactly what he is doing, whereas "Pilgrimage," with all its profound and delicate insights, lacks design; his vision of the milieu he writes about is sharper than Galsworthy's, encompassing at once the fact and the symbol spelled out by the fact. For this edition Robie Macauley has written a first-rate critical introduction.

"An Edith Wharton Treasury" is not satisfactory, although it must be assumed that matters of copyright to some extent determined the selection. A preface by Arthur Hobson Quinn is filled with useful information but propounds, in Professor Quinn's eagerness to bestow on Mrs. Wharton every possible laurel, some astonishing judgments. He shows, for instance, that she is a better novelist than Henry James. I have a sharp vision of how a writer who never made undue claims for herself would have responded to such en-

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comia. "The Age of Innocence," reissued here, is a glittering picture of New York society in the seventies, but if only one novel was to be printed, either "The House of Mirth," structurally almost perfect ("The Age of Innocence" breaks badly in the middle), or "The Custom of the Country" would have been more representative of her powers. No one could quarrel with the inclusion of "Funner Sisters" and "Madame de Treymes," so dissimilar in theme, so finely drawn. But here also are "The Old Maid," an overrated piece—if anything was to be reprinted from the "Old New York" sequence it should have been that wonderful pastel, "False Dawn"—and eight short stories. The short story was not Mrs. Wharton's form, and, of those she wrote, the carefully studied tales in two very early books, "The Greater Inclination" and "Crucial Instances," are superior to the several dozen she turned out afterward. Only one in this selection, The Moving Finger, is from "Crucial Instances." The remainder betray an addiction to the tidy plot and demonstrate that unfortunate facility, for surely she never wrote an ungraceful sentence, with which, particularly after 1920, she was always likely to dissipate the treasures of her irony.

It is a fashionable fiction that Nathanael West is an important American writer. His nihilism is about as profound as that set forth in "The Mysterious Stranger." However, as reporting, "The Day of the Locust" (first published in 1939) is a far better "job" on Hollywood than Evelyn Waugh's "The Loved One," although its grotesqueries lack any focus, and like the Waugh novel, it is one more proof, if any were needed, that good novels cannot be written solely out of personal disgust at the spectacle our civilization makes of itself. West approaches his material as if he were an anthropologist, but before he has gone very far his writing splutters out in hysteria. Which is a great pity, for isolated scenes, such as those involving the broken-down vaudeville artist, Harry Greener, are brilliantly realized.

A Turgenev revival is nicely under way. "The Borzoi Turgenev" contains, in a new translation by Harry Stevens, four novels—"On the Eve," "Fathers and Sons," "Smoke," "Rudin"—and three long stories—"A Quiet Spot," "The Diary of a Superfluous Man," and the incomparable "First Love." Reading and rereading, one becomes most of all aware—putting aside Turgenev's own virtues—of how much twentieth-century novelists owe to his exploration of the sensibilities. As English prose the translation sounds better, since the idiom is contemporary, than Constance Garnett's. Occasionally the diction is cloudy, for Mr. Stevens tends to prefer the abstract word to the concrete. At the same time the Cresset Library, the most nicely got up and best-selected series of inexpensive reprints in a long time, has issued "A Sportsman's Notebook" in a new translation by Charles and Natasha Hepburn.

Finally, this too in the Cresset Library, there is Sheridan Le Fanu's "Uncle Silas," first published in 1864. As Elizabeth Bowen points out in a preface which overpraises this modest novel, "Uncle Silas" is among the first of the psychological thrillers and one of the best, an engrossing tale of the pursuit of innocence by the powers of darkness. It has the narcotic charm of "The Mysteries of Udolpho," but a charm reinforced by the same kind of sharp character drawing, not characterization, at which Wilkie Collins was so

adept. (Someone should reprint Collins's "Armada," a more serious novel than "The Woman in White" or "The Moonstone," and much more exciting.) Le Fanu is particularly good with landscape and weather, manipulating them unobtrusively for effect. With no special claptrap he makes of the worn theme of the helpless heiress and the wicked uncle a fine winter's tale.

ERNEST JONES

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

AS OF last week the creative fires were still burning very low on Broadway. All was invention, contrivance, and repetition of the well-tried formula.

The most touted show of the week was "Call Me Madam," with Ethel Merman (Imperial Theater). Berlin's music this time is smooth, dull, and repetitious, though his lyrics are bright; the book by Lindsay and Crouse has some good lines scattered through it but is in general obvious and hearty and, structurally, quite free of genuine wit. The dance numbers by Jerome Robbins, whether by order or for lack of any situation that might touch off his particular kind of choreographic banter, are strictly incidental and innocuous. Paul Lukas is charming and carries off the difficult business of being sung to with wonderful aplomb; Russell Nype is engaging. As for Miss Merman—well, Miss Merman happens to be a well-tried formula that I like, but it takes all the Merman vitality, the Merman skill, and the Merman morale to make this bit of anything go at all.

"The Legend of Sarah" (Fulton Theater) is the most thoroughly invented play I've ever seen. Its theme—the pros and cons of restoring a revolutionary village à la Williamsburg—is quite fetching and would seem to offer plenty of opportunities for characterization and comedy. But all the characterizations are false, and the comedy is painfully forced, with the result that even an accomplished troupier like Ethel Griffies is hard put to it to make anything of her unlikely part, and a young and talented troupier like Marsha Hunt is completely defeated and made to look

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plain foolish in a part which, it is only fair to say, is even more unlikely than that assigned to Miss Griffies. Here is a curious but not very interesting example of what happens when a playwright (in this case two playwrights), even though he has hit upon a good if minor theme, constructs according to well-trying specifications instead of creating out of his own unpredictable but possibly fresh impulses.

I found "The Gioconda Smile" (Lyceum Theater) more interesting than I had expected I would. Huxley is Huxley after all. I didn't mind the "deep" talk or the bits of poetry, and they didn't seem to me to detract from the murder mystery. On the contrary. Again, the mystery is certainly contrived, but isn't contrivance the heart of the matter as far as murder mysteries are concerned? Or are the records of the FBI in overwhelming demand?

However that may be, and I'm not a reader of murder mysteries, what intrigued me was the fact that "The Gioconda Smile" seems to be contrived out of the earlier Huxley attitude toward sex—an obsessive and rather unpleasant concern with that abiding human element—and a celebration of the fresh young earthy female and of love and marriage and the child which bespeaks either a new Huxley attitude or a concession to what he might have called in the old days the mores of the morons. I suspect it is a little of both but more of the second, for the fresh young earthy thing is never allowed to get out of her "female" sphere, and the original dichotomy is thus, in a way, preserved. The play is an adaptation of one of Huxley's short stories which I haven't read. I'm told that in that version the now fresh young thing was a common whore—which would make quite a difference. The smile of the frustrated older rival must have had some significance in the story. It has so little in the play that the title seems arbitrary.

All in all, as you can see, "The Gioconda Smile" is a strange amalgam. But since Huxley is nothing if not literate, his handling of his mixture of themes is quite fascinating. George Relph's performance of the doctor-detective has great ease and finish, and Valerie Taylor does well with a trying part. Marian Russell as the fresh young female is very attractive.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

AS ONE who has considered Beecham to be one of the world's great musicians I have been disturbed by tendencies revealed in some of his performances of the last year or two—the tendency to slow up the music so that it has seemed static instead of forward-moving; the tendency to over-elaboration and exaggeration of phraseological inflection, accentuation, and so on. The new Columbia LP record of his performances of Mozart's Symphonies K.551 ("Jupiter") and 504 ("Prague") provides further evidence of these tendencies. Thinking that possibly it was my taste that had changed I played the recordings he made of the same works with the London Philharmonic a number of years ago, but found that what I had thought beautiful then I still thought beautiful now, and that the new performances were distressing distortions and caricatures of the old. What I mean is such things as the excessive fussing with the violins' transitional measures (43-46) leading from the end of the exposition to the beginning of the development in the second movement of K.551, or the excessive accentuation in measures 59 and 107 of the first movement, or the excessive retardation at measure 95 for the "second subject" in the first movement of K.504, as compared with the treatment of the same details in the old performances. And all this apart from faults in the new performances which were also faults in the old—e.g., the *Adagio* tempo of the second movement of K.551 as against the prescribed *Andante*, the discarding of the mutes in the course of the movement, the perversely slow tempo of the minuet movement. The recorded sound of the performances is sharp and coarse; the surfaces of my copy are noisily defective.

On a London LP (LLP 214) is Mozart's Symphony K.385 ("Haffner"), well played by Van Beinum with the London Philharmonic, but the recorded sound either tight and stridently sharp or—with treble further reduced—lacking brightness. On the reverse side is the Handel-Harty "Water Music," which is also well played, and the

recorded sound spacious and rich.

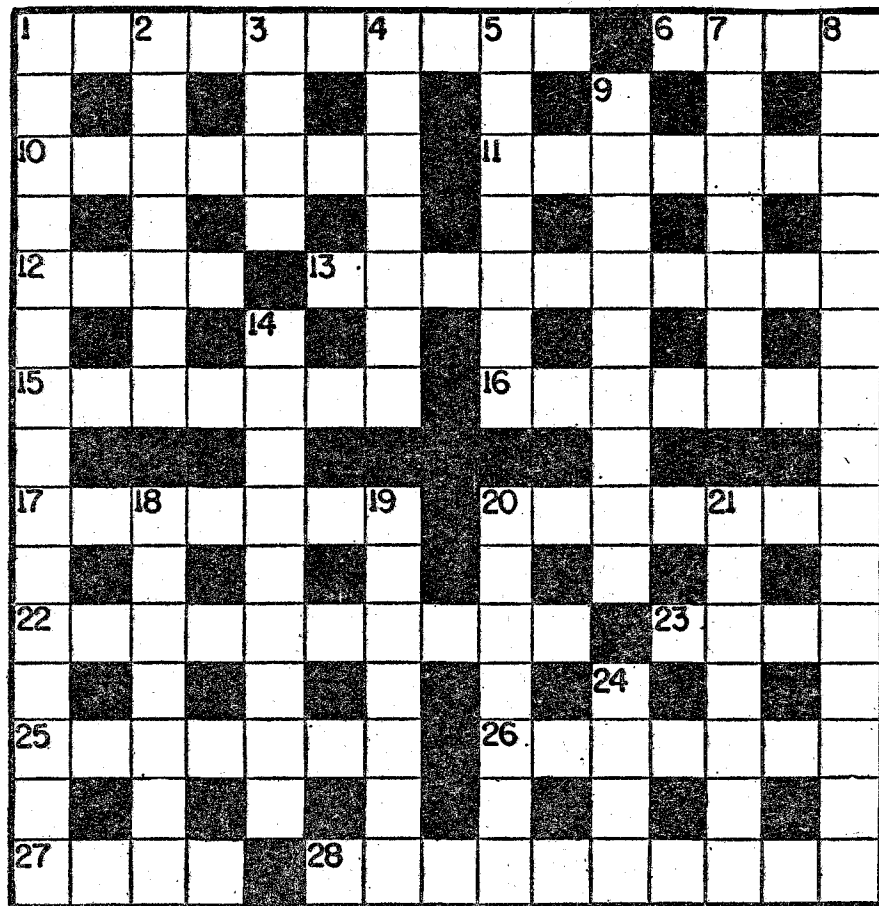
The steadiness which made Josef Krips's performance of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony the finest I had heard on records produces excellent performances of the first and second movements of Brahms's Fourth with the London Symphony on another London record (LLP 208). But in the third movement—otherwise well-played—the *Poco meno presto* episode is dragged *Molto meno presto*. And in the finale, which Brahms clearly intended should be kept at one pace throughout, there is the usual slowing down in Variations 10-15, the usual speeding up from Variation 16. The performance is well reproduced.

From Charles B. Farrell, this column's source of dependable information and comment on matters of scholarship, comes a bitter complaint about the Oxford Press reprint of Arnold's "Thorough-Bass." Not about the book itself, which "is Holy Writ to be learned by heart for the person interested in the correct performance of seventeenth and eighteenth-century music." Not only does it offer a digest of the entire literature on thorough-bass, says Farrell, but "the thorough-bass system touches on so many facets of seventeenth and eighteenth-century theory and practice that one is continually astonished by the things that turn up in the book." And as an example he cites a long footnote on p. 359 which gives the correct meaning of what the musicological Germans—over the justified protests of the English—have, with their "fuzzy language sense," mistranslated as the "gallant style." *Der galante* or *leichte Styl* was the free style in the treatment of discords, as against the strict *Stylus gravis* or *Allabreve* style. And Farrell gives other examples—all of which make the book one that should be in every musical library. Which brings us to his complaint.

Two years ago Farrell had a representative of a publisher specializing in such reprints work out an estimate on a reprint of the Arnold; and "he figured that in an edition of 500 copies it could be sold profitably for \$12.50 or \$15. At such a price it had a chance of making a way into some of the private libraries where it ought to be. But at Oxford's price of \$45? Hardly."

Crossword Puzzle No. 384

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Was the West Wall so thrown together? (5-5)
- 6 Piled on third, as part of the Giants' defense.
- 10 Over-use a carriage.
- 11 Not romantic with regard to a record.
- 12 Turn back, if they're in a pinch.
- 13 Starred in tear-kissed make-up.
- 15 A Carroll pair took them out for dinner.
- 16 Asia rum for the Asian warrior.
- 17 and 23. The exact conception of outraged expression. (3, 4, 4)
- 20 Monday's power plants.
- 22 Make a disproportionate representation.
- 23 See 17.
- 25 City started in splendor and ended in dust.
- 26 Original letter.
- 27 Highly absorbent sort of pot.
- 28 Show-boat?
- 2 Precise directions.
- 3 An American with pull.
- 4 He was bound to resist temptation.
- 5 This hand-out is big on a boat.
- 7 Seal-spear?
- 8 Red den? (1, 5, 2, 7)
- 9 Signs of a Latin mass.
- 14 Invest a sort of rebel with internal affliction.
- 18 He started music lessons after many years.
- 19 White rose fancier.
- 20 A bad color to find in a dog.
- 21 Formed a rebel army in Portuguese territory.
- 24 Discover, but not a sign of a repeat.

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 383

ACROSS:—1 AGORAPHOBIA; 9 THEOLOGY; 10 BEACON; 11 PAUCITY; 12 and 22 SAVED BY THE BELL; 14 VENEER; 15 MEDICINE; 17 BEGRIMES; 20 PALTRY; 24 POLKAT; 26 PLAYER; 27 and 21 THE AGE OF REASON; 28 CUT AND DRIED.

DOWN:—2 GOOD CHEER; 3 ROOSTER; 4 PAYS; 5 ON BOARD; 6 IRATE; 7 PHRASE; 8 BONBON; 13 AMISS; 16 COLLEAGUE; 18 EXHALE; 19 MALARIA; 20 PIONEER; 23 BAYOU; 25 STUD.

DOWN

- 1 Evidently the radio page is in a bad way! (6-2-3-4)

Letters to the Editors

Humor and Facts

Dear Sirs: Joseph Wood Krutch has a sense of humor, but what of his sense of facts? He presents himself as one whose leg has been pulled and he liked it. I shall suggest why his frolic of misstatement concerning Indians (*The Nation*, September 23) has its serious aspect at this political moment. But first as to Mr. Krutch's facts.

"The smiling Hopis, the placid Papagos, and all other Arizona Indians are amiably fading away. But the Navajos go right on getting more and more numerous." The facts: the Navajos are increasing at 2 per cent a year; the Papagos at 2 per cent; and the Hopis at 2.1 per cent. All four divisions of the Apaches are increasing at comparable speeds, as are the New Mexico Pueblos. These rates of increase are double that of the population at large.

"Wherever [in Navajo country, a dozen years ago, as witnessed by Mr. Krutch] one looked, one saw the body of a dead horse rotting on the sand. They had all been shot by order of the kind commissioner." The facts: no horses were shot in the Navajo country by order of the kind commissioner or anyone else. The necessary reduction of surplus horses was done through purchase from Navajo owners, and the horses were delivered alive to processing centers like Amarillo, where they were turned into dog food. In the drought years many Navajo horses died from starvation and dehydration; Mr. Krutch may have seen some of these.

"The idealistic commissioner could not see it that way. The noble savage is by definition Pure. . . . By definition Purity and Monogamy are the same thing. The order forbidding polygamy went out. I saw no surplus wives rotting in the sun, but it might have come to that in time." The facts: no order forbidding polygamy went out from the idealistic commissioner or any other government official. The Navajo tribal council, elected by universal suffrage by the Navajos, in 1944 passed an ordinance declaring that future polygamous marriages should be outlawed. Then in 1945 the council ordained that existing polygamous marriages would not be recognized in tribal law. Enforcement of these ordinances has been zero minus.

I mention above that Mr. Krutch's fantasies have a serious aspect at this

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political moment. This political moment is witnessing a concerted effort to destroy the entire body of Indian rights and advantages which was built up during the twelve Franklin D. Roosevelt years. The Congressional assault is being countenanced within the Interior Department. Its immediate implementation is the Bosone bill, which, with departmental indorsement, has passed the House and is on the Senate's calendar awaiting action. If the men who under Roosevelt wrought out with the Indians their New Deal were kind-hearted, idealistic idiots, then the presumption is that the things they built were idealistic idiocies, and the wrecking Bosone bill might as well become law. Mr. Krutch, through fantasy stated as fact, suggests that at least the Indian commissioner was a kind-hearted idiot; but then so must have been Harold L. Ickes, Interior Secretary, and Mr. Roosevelt, who attended rather closely to Indian affairs.

JOHN COLLIER

New York, October 10

Misinformed?

Dear Sirs: I feel a good deal like a naughty boy who has been amusing himself with a popgun only to discover that the old gentleman in a top hat unlimbers a six-shooter with murderous intent. My piece was based upon what the reservation traders told me, and though no doubt they have their prejudices, they did not seem unfavorably disposed toward the Indians. I am in no position to dispute facts with Mr. Collier, but do his facts amount to as much as he seems to imply?

The order forbidding polygamous marriages was, he says, not that of the commissioner but of a freely elected tribal council. Yet, as he also says, the enforcement has been zero minus. Would that seem to indicate that the tribal council was following the will of the people or, as has on occasion been known to be the case where the forms of self-government are not much more than forms, that it was doing what the protective power wanted it to do?

No horses, Mr. Collier says, were shot, because the "necessary reduction of numbers" was achieved by purchase. He does not say whether or not any pressure was brought to bear upon sellers. I did not say that the owners were not compensated. But I saw the dead bodies of those which had been shot. I was told by several different traders at several different posts that the reservation was seething with anger.

As to the statement that other tribes are also now on the increase, that is good news. But is this a recent phenomenon or was the statement to the contrary made not so many years ago pure fabrication?

I am certainly not—and I don't think Mr. Collier accuses me of being—part of a conspiracy to deprive the Indian of his rights. I met Mr. Collier many years ago; I was impressed by his passion and his sincerity; and for that very reason I was astonished to be told, repeatedly and without hearing any dissenting voice, that his well-meant policies were extremely unpopular with the Indians. It may be that I was persistently and with wicked intent misinformed.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
Tucson, Ariz., October 13

Everybody Nuts?

Dear Sirs: Has everybody gone nuts? First, there is this fellow writing you people that in my Marx Brothers book I put Nacogdoches in Louisiana instead of Texas. No sech of a damn lie. Right there on p. 113 it says the act is in Nacogdoches, Texas, and then recounts how the audience preferred to chase a runaway mule rather than listen to the boys, and how the boys got revenge by singing "Nacogdoches is full of roaches" and following that by a second rhyme that goes "The Jackass is the finest flower of Texas." Would that make any sense in Louisiana?

As for Groucho's answer apologizing for me [in *The Nation* for September 9], pay no attention. It merely means that (a) Groucho never read the book, and (b) anybody giving Groucho an excuse to answer anything about anything has his misery on his own head, for Groucho will most certainly answer him. My next book is going to be about a dead orphan.

KYLE CRICHTON
Newtown, Conn., October 5

C. P. Material Wanted

Dear Sirs: I am at present working on a full-scale, critical history of the Communist Party of the United States. I would appreciate receiving material on this subject, particularly that dealing with the party's early years and local manifestations.

I might add that I am interested only in objective, impersonal, and verifiable material, not in gossip, conjecture, or hysteria. All documents will be promptly returned.

IRVING HOWE

Princeton, N. J., October 8

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